

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 089764
ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PRS-01 /014 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE: RCEWING:RAH
APPROVED BY EUR:JGLOWENSTEIN
EUR/P:WJGEHRON

-----211623Z 046261 /46

O 211536Z APR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 089764

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, TU

SUBJECT: EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN ON TURKEY

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF COLUMN BY ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT
NOVAK APPEARING IN APRIL 20 "WASHINGTON POST", DATELINED
ANKARA:

BEGIN TEXT: "A HARD LINE ON TURKEY". ALTHOUGH THE FULL
IMPACT OF PRESIDENT CARTER'S HARD LINE ON TURKEY, THE MOST
RELIABLE ALLY OF THE UNITED STATES IN THE CRUCIAL EASTERN
FLANK OF NATO, HAS NOT BEEN FELT HERE YET, THE HANDWRITING
ON THE WALL IS CLEAR. THAT MESSAGE POINTS TO A REVERSAL OF
THE KISSINGER-FORD POLICY OF SEPARATING THE INFLAMMATORY
CYPRUS ISSUE FROM TURKEY'S KEY NATO ROLE. THE CARTER
ADMINISTRATION POLICY IS LINKAGE. LINKAGE MEANS THAT
JIMMY CARTER WILL NOT ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE CONGRESS TO PASS
THE NEW TURKEY DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT--ENDING THE
MODIFIED ARMS EMBARGO ON TURKEY--UNTIL TURKEY MAKES SUB-
STANTIAL CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS. THAT WAS THE PRIVATE
MESSAGE BROUGHT HERE IN LATE FEBRUARY BY CLARK CLIFFORD,
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CARTER'S CYPRUS MEDIATOR. ALTHOUGH HE WAS CAREFUL TO
AVOID STATING THE POLICY REVERSAL IN BLUNT TERMS TO THE
TURKISH GOVERNMENT, THERE WAS NOTHING SUBTLE ABOUT
CLIFFORD'S FRANK ELABORATION OF THE NEW POLICY IN THE
BRIEFINGS HE HAD WITH U.S. DIPLOMATS HERE.
THOSE DISCUSSIONS AT TIMES BORDERED ON THE ACERBIC,
PARTICULARLY WHEN CLIFFORD TOLD THE ENTIRE U.S. MISSION

THAT WITHOUT MAJOR TURKISH CONCESSIONS ON CYPRUS THEY WERE "DREAMING" TO THINK THERE WAS ANY CHANCE THE PRESIDENT WOULD TRY TO PUSH THE NEW DEFENSE AGREEMENT THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS. THE GREEK LOBBY IS NOW MORE ENTRENCHED THAN EVER UNDER THE NEW HOUSE SPEAKER, THOMAS P. O'NEILL OF MASSACHUSETTS, AND THE NEW MAJORITY WHIP, JOHN BRADEMÁS OF INDIANA.

ADDING A BITTER TOUCH FOR TURKEY TO THIS POLICY REVERSAL WAS THE ABRUPT DECISION TO END THE DIPLOMATIC CAREER OF AMBASSADOR WILLIAM B. MACOMBER. HE IS ABOUT TO BE REPLACED IN A POLITICS-AS-USUAL DECISION AT A CLIMACTIC POINT OF THE POLICY CRISIS BETWEEN THE U.S. AND TURKEY. THE DEPARTURE OF MACOMBER INTO PREMATURE RETIREMENT IS NOT ALL THAT UNUSUAL BY ITSELF. ALTHOUGH MACOMBER HAS SERVED IN TOP DIPLOMATIC ROLES UNDER THE LAST FIVE PRESIDENTS, DIPLOMATIC HOUSECLEANING IS A RITUAL IN ANY NEW ADMINISTRATION. WHAT GIVES THE MACOMBER DISMISSAL ITS SPECIAL CHARACTER IS HIS ROLE AS THE VULNERABLE POINT-MAN IN TAKING ON THE GREEK LOBBY IN CONGRESS. ALTHOUGH MACOMBER HIMSELF REJECTS IT AS FANCIFUL, ONE U.S. OPERATIVE HERE SUSPECTS THAT U.S. LEADERS OF THE GREEK LOBBY PLAYED A PART IN HIS UNCEREMONIOUS SACKING. (THE FIRST OUSTER MESSAGE RECEIVED HERE FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT ORDERED HIM OUT "AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE.") SYMBOLICALLY, THEN, THE CHANGE AT THE TOP HERE HAS A FAINT STENCH OF RETRIBUTION, PERHAPS A CLASSIC EXAMPLE OF THE MACHINATIONS OF THAT DANGEROUS NEW PHENOMENON OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY: THE INFLUENCE OF ETHNIC POLITICS ON THE MOST DELICATE

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FOREIGN UNDERTAKINGS. YET MACOMBER'S CONVICTION IS WIDELY SHARED THAT TURKEY'S VALUE AS THE MOST POWERFUL MEDITERRANEAN MEMBER OF NATO--AN ALLIANCE ALREADY FISSURED THROUGHOUT ITS SOUTHERN FLANK--DWARFS ANY CONCEIVABLE U.S. GAIN FROM RESOLVING THE CYPRUS ISSUE. IN SHORT, TO RISK TURKEY FOR CYPRUS IS TOO HIGH A TRIBUTE TO PAY. THAT IS THE VIEW OF TOP AMERICAN OFFICIALS HERE, IN ATHENS AND ON THE ISLAND OF CYPRUS ITSELF. THUS, EVEN THOUGH TURKEY HAS UNQUESTIONABLY PLAYED A MISERLY, RECALCITRANT HAND IN THWARTING U.S. EFFORTS TO MEDIATE THE GREEK-TURKISH DEADLOCK IN CYPRUS, THE CARTER DECISION TO USE THE NEW DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT, SIGNED OVER ONE YEAR AGO, AS A LEVER TO MOVE TURKEY IS FILLED WITH DANGER. THAT DANGER LIES IN THE FUTURE. TURKEY, WHICH SUFFERED HEAVY CASUALTIES WITH THE UNITED STATES IN THE KOREAN WAR, IS NOT ABOUT TO GO NEUTRALIST TODAY. NOR DOES ITS AGE-OLD FEAR OF THE RUSSIANS SHOW ANY SIGN OF ABATEMENT. BUT THE CARTER DECISION TO SUBLIMATE NATO TO PRO-GREEK U.S. PRESSURE

GROUPS SUPPORTING THE 1974 ARMS EMBARGO HAS THROWN TURKEY
OFF BALANCE AND IS UNDERMINING ITS POLITICAL CENTER OF
GRAVITY. HOW FAR OFF BALANCE MAY DEPEND ON THE OUTCOME
OF THE BITTER CAMPAIGN NOW BEING WAGED HERE FOR THE JUNE 5
NATIONAL ELECTION. THAT CAMPAIGN, PLUS SIGNS OF NEW SOVIET
PRESSURE FOR A FAVORED PLACE HERE, WILL BE EXAMINED LATER.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, PRESS COMMENTS, FOREIGN RELATIONS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 21-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977STATE089764
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: RCEWING:RAH
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770139-0003
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770433/aaaabbtg.tel
Line Count: 124
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: dd4630a1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18-Oct-2004 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2735231
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: EVANS AND NOVAK COLUMN ON TURKEY FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF COLUMN BY ROWLAND EVANS AND ROBERT NOVAK APPEARING IN APRIL 20 \"WASHINGTON POST\", DAT
TAGS: PFOR, TU, US, (EVANS, ROWLAND), (NOVAK, ROBERT)
To: ANKARA
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/dd4630a1-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009